

Message Text

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TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (KISSINGER)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT C. L. SULZBERGER OP-ED COLUMN NEW YORK TIMES WEDNESDAY DECEMBER 8 HEADED "IN NATO CORRIDORS: THEORY AND PRACTICE."

2. THE CHANGE IN WORLD FORCE RELATIONSHIPS SINCE THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY WAS FIRST SIGNED IN 1949 HAS PRODUCED SOME INTERESTING NEW ASSESSMENTS DURING THE CUSTOMARY YEAR-END MEETINGS AMONG ALLIED MINISTERS HERE.

3. IN SOME RESPECTS INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS ALONG THE PERIPHERIES OF THESE CONCLAVES ARE MORE NOTABLE THAN THE FREQUENTLY BANAL FORMAL COMMUNIQUEs REQUIRED TO OBTAIN THE APPROVAL OF ALL PARTICIPANTS. AND AMONG THE MORE STRIKING OPINIONS ONE HEARS ARE THE FOLLOWING:

4. THE NEW NOTE IN THE INTERNATIONAL POWER BALANCE SEEMS TO BE MOSCOW'S APPARENT CONJECTURE THAT THE CORRELATION OF FORCES NOW BEGINS TO FAVOR WHAT IT CALLS THE "SOCIALIST" STATES--MEANING THE SOVIET BLOC PLUS ITS IDEOLOGICAL

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SYMPATHIZERS.

5. THIS FACTOR, THE KREMLIN APPEARS TO THINK, ALLOWS DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW GLOBAL STRATEGY NOT BASED ON ANY ACTUAL THREAT OF A WAR THAT MIGHT GO NUCLEAR BUT UPON UNCERTAINTY IN THE WEST THAT SUCH A THREAT IS CONTEMPLATED BY THE U.S.S.R.

6. THE PRINCIPAL TACTIC DERIVING FROM THIS IS AN EFFORT TO NAIL WESTERN DEFENSE ENERGIES IN EUROPE, WHERE THEY MUST OBVIOUSLY CONCENTRATE, WHILE WORKING TO CUT OFF SOURCES ELSEWHERE OF RAW MATERIALS ON WHICH THE HIGHLY DEVELOPED NATO SOCIETIES MUST DEPEND FOR EXISTENCE.

7. THAT APPROACH, WHICH IS GEOPOLITICAL MORE THAN MILITARY, IS A KIND OF PEACETIME APPLICATION OF THE MAO TSE-TUNG DOCTRINE (ABHORRED BY MOSCOW) THAT THE "COUNTRY-SIDE" CAN ALWAYS WIN A GUERRILLA WAR BY FIRST ENCIRCLING AND THEN STRANGLING THE "CITY." ACCORDING TO THIS THEORY --WHICH IS FAR FROM UNIVERSALLY ENDORSED IN NATO--THE SOVIETS WOULD IN FACT ONLY HAVE RECOURSE TO ARMED ACTION IF THEY THOUGHT A SECONDARY PUSH WERE REQUIRED TO TUMBLE AN ALREADY FALLING STRUCTURE.

8. THE TROUBLE IS THAT EVEN IN SUCH AN IDEOLOGICALLY UNITED GROUP OF MEN AS THE NATO MINISTERS WHO, DESPITE PARTY DIFFERENCES, ENDORSE THE SAME BASIC CONCEPTS OF FREEDOM, IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR REASONS OF NATIONAL POLITICS TO HAVE OPEN DISCUSSIONS ON MANY SUBJECTS--LIKE EURO-COMMUNISM, ASSESSMENTS OF INTELLIGENCE, IMPLICATIONS OF DISTANT EVENTS, LIKE SOUTHERN AFRICA. SOME PARTICIPATING GOVERNMENTS FEAR REPORTS OF SUCH EXCHANGES COULD JEOPARDIZE THEIR OWN EXISTENCE.

9. NEVERTHELESS, THEY ALL AGREE NATO MUST REMAIN STRONG, THAT IF THE WESTERN DEFENSE BUDGET FALLS AND CHINA, FOR EXAMPLE, CONSIDERS ALLIED RESOLVE IS PERCEPTIBLY FALTERING, PEKING MIGHT BE MORE INDUCED TO MAKE A NEW DEAL WITH MOSCOW SO THERE ARE COMPLETELY NONMILITARY IMPLICATIONS TO BE PONDERED IN WESTERN MILITARY PREPARATIONS.

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10. AND THE INCREASING DESIRE TO INVEST MORE HEAVILY IN WELFARE STATE BENEFITS IS NO REASON TO TRIM DEFENSE INVESTMENT, THE BEST EVIDENCE THAT THE FORMER NEED NOT AUTOMATICALLY PRODUCE THE LATTER IS SHOWN IN NON-NATO SWEDEN, A LITTLE NEUTRAL ARMED WITH MODERN WEAPONS AND GREAT RESOLVE.

11. SOME PARTICIPANTS AT MEETINGS HERE ARE PERSUADED

THAT A MAJOR DETERRENT TO ANY THOUGHT OF SOVIET AGGRESSION

IS MOSCOW'S AWARENESS THAT, DESPITE ITS OWN TROUBLES, IT IS DOING WELL ENOUGH AS THINGS ARE. WHENEVER IT FACES GRAVE INTERNAL

CRISIS IN ITS SYSTEM IT IS BAILED OUT BY THE WEST. THEREFORE, WHY CONTEMPLATE KILLING THE GOLDEN GOOSE EVEN AT MINIMAL RISK?

12. IT IS FASCINATING TO HEAR SOME OF THESE THEORIES ELABORATED. AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, WESTERN DEFENSE MINISTERS AND THEIR GENERALS MUST DEAL WITH THE CONTINUING GRIM HEADACHES OF MILITARY HARDWARE PROBLEMS. NATO IS MORE VIVIDLY WORRIED THAN BEFORE BY INDICATIONS OF MAJOR SOVIET PREPARATIONS FOR POTENTIAL CHEMICAL WARFARE AND BY ITS AND CHINA'S HUGE ADVANTAGE OVER NATO MEMBERS IN CIVIL DEFENSE. BUT WHILE UNITED STATES VIEWS ON SOME OF THESE PROBLEMS ARE MADE MORE AVAILABLE THAN EVER IN CAREFULLY STRUCTURED BRIEFINGS TO OTHER ALLIES, THEY INSTIGATE NO DISCERNIBLE ACTIVITY.

13. ON TWO PROBLEMS, HOWEVER, THERE IS VOCIFEROUS CONCERN. VIRTUALLY ALL THE PARTNERS AGREE THAT NATO IS MOVING BACKWARDS, NOT FORWARDS, ON THE MAJOR QUESTION OF STANDARDIZING ITS WEAPONS SYSTEMS, AND THAT WE ARE CERTAINLY FURTHER FROM THE DREAM OF A UNITED EUROPE, TIED BY ALLIANCE WITH THE UNITED STATES, THAN HAD ORIGINALLY BEEN HOPED WHEN THE EUROPEAN DREAM FIRST SAW LIGHT TWO DECADES AGO.

14. THE STANDARDIZATION ISSUE IS CONCRETE AND SPECIFIC.
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JOINTLY MANUFACTURED ARMS--LIKE THE MULTI-ROLE COMBAT AIRCRAFT PRODUCED BY THREE ALLIES--ARE OFTEN COSTLY AND INEFFICIENT. THE MRCA HAS PROVED MORE EXPENSIVE AND LESS EFFECTIVE THAN THE EARLIER AMERICAN F-111. AND THE ALLIANCE STILL DOESN'T FUEL ITS PLANES OR TURBINE-POWERED NAVAL CRAFT WITH THE SAME FUEL, CAUSING ENDLESS COMPLICATIONS.

15. ON THIS KIND OF THING WHERE ACTION NEED NOT BE CONFUSED BY THEORY OR MASKED BY CAUTIOUS WORDS, ONE CAN LOOK FOR SOME IMPROVEMENT NEXT YEAR. (END TEXT.). ROBINSON

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